

CONSIDERATIONS

UPON

REPUTATION,
LOYALTY,
The MANNERS,
&
RELIGION,

OF

THOMAS HOBBI

ES

M A L M S B Y R Y.

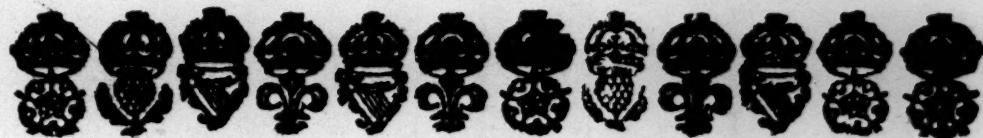
Written by Himself,
By way of LETTER
to a Learned Person.

L O N D O N :

Printed for William Crooke, at the Green Dragon
without Temple-bar. 1680.

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THE
BOOKSELLER'S
ADVERTISEMENT
To the READERS.

I Do here present you with a Piece of Mr. *Hobbes's* Writing ; which is not published from an imperfect MS. as his Dialogue of the *Civil Wars of England* was, (by some that had got accidentally a Copy of it) absolutely against his consent, as you may see by some Passages out of some of his Letters to me, which I have here inserted.

In

The Bookseller's

In his Letter of June, 1679.
he saith,

— I would fain have published my Dialogue of the Civil Wars of England, long ago ; and to that end I presented it to his Majesty : and some days after, when I thought he had read it, I humbly besought him to let me print it ; but his Majesty (though he heard me gratioulsy, yet he) flatly refused to have it published. Therefore I brought away the Book, and gave you leave to take a Copy of it ; which when you had done, I gave the Original to an honourable and learned Friend, who about a year after died. The King knows better, and is more concerned in publishing of Books than I am : Therefore I dare not venture to appear in the business, lest it should offend him.

There-

Advertisement.

Therefore I pray you not to meddle in
the businesſ. Rather than to be thought
any way to further or countenance the
printing , I would be content to lose
twenty times the value of what you
can expect to gain by it, &c.---I pray
do not take it ill ; it may be I may
live to send you ſomewhat else as ven-
dible as that : And without offence,
I rest

Your

Chatsworth,
June 19. 1679.

Very humble Servant,
Thomas Hobbes.

Part of his Letter in July, 1679.

————— If I leave any MSS. worth
printing, I will leave word you ſhall
have them, if you please. I am

Chatsworth,
July 21. 1679.

Your humble Servant,
Thomas Hobbes.

Part

The Bookseller's

Part of his Letter Aug. 1679.

Sir,

I thank you for taking my advice
in not stirring about the printing of
my Book concerning the Civil Wars
of England, &c. ---- I am writing
somewhat for you to print in English,
&c. I am,

Sir,

Chatsworth,
Aug. 18. 1679.

Your humble Servant,
Thomas Hobbes.

That no spurious Brats, for
the time to come, be fathered
upon the deceased Author,
I have printed, verbatim, these
Passages out of his Letters
written to me at several times:

Their

Advertisement.

Their Original I have by me.
I will be so just to his Memory,
that I will not print any thing
but what is perfect, and fitted
for the Press. And if any
Book shall be printed with his
Name to it, that hath not be-
fore been printed, you may be
confident it is not his, unless
Printed for

William Crooke.

Sir,

H.
thermoflame
is a good design with
the effect of solvent
and heat removal
and the flame is solid and
can burn at 1000° C.
and the flame is stable
at 1000° C. The
flame is 1000° C. and
the flame is 1000° C.

second missile

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Sir,

I Am one of them that admire your Writings ; and having read over your *Hobbius Heanton-timorumenos*, I cannot hold from giving you some account of the causes why I admire it : And first I considered how you handle him for his Disloyalty, in these words, pag. the 5th. His great Leviathan (wherein he placed his main strength) is now somewhat out of season ; which, upon deserting his Royal Master in distress, (for he pretends to have been the King's Tutor, though yet, from those who have most reason to know it, I can find but little ground for such a pretence,) was written in defence of Oliver's Title, (or whoever, by whatsoever

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means,

means, can get to be upmost,) placing the whole Right of Government merely in strength, and Absolving all his Majesties Subjects from their Allegiance, whenever He is not in a present capacity to force Obedience.

That which I observe and admire here first, is, That you left not this passage out, for two reasons; One, because Mr Hobbes could long for nothing more than such an occasion to tell the world his own and your little stories, during the time of the late Rebellion.

When the Parliament sat, that began in April 1640. and was dissolved in May following, and in which many points of the Regal Power, which were necessary for the Peace of the Kingdom, and the safety of His Majesties Person, were disputed and denied, Mr. Hobbes wrote a little Treatise in English,

English, wherein he did set forth and demonstrate; That the said Power and Rights were inseparably annexed to the Sovereignty ; which Sovereignty they did not then deny to be in the King ; but it seems understood not, or would not understand that Inseparability. Of this Treatise, though not Printed, many Gentlemen had Copies, which occasioned much talk of the Author ; and had not His Majesty dissolved the Parliament, it had brought him into danger of his Life.

He was the first that had ventured to write in the King's defence, and one, amongst very few, that upon no other ground but knowledge of his Duty, and Principles of Equity, without special Interest, was in all points perfectly Loyal.

The 3^d of November following,

there began a new Parliament, consisting for the greatest part of such men as the People had elected only for their aduerseness to the Kings Interest. These proceeded so fiercely in the very beginning against those that had written or preach'd in the defence of any part of that Power, which they then intended to take away, and in gracing those whom the King had disgrac'd for Sedition, that Mr. Hobbes doubting how they would use him, went over into *France*, the first of all that fled, and there continued eleven years, to his dammage some thousands of pounds deep. This (Dr.) was your time of harvest : You were in their favour, and that (as you have made it since appear) for no goodnes's.

Being at *Paris*, he wrote and published his Book *de Cive*, in Latin,

tine, to the end that all Nations which should hear what you and your Concovenanter were doing in *England*, might detest you, which I believe they do ; for I know no Book more magnified than this is beyond the Seas.

When His Majesty that now is came to *Paris*, Mr. Hobbes had the honour to initiate him in the Mathematicks ; but never was so impudent or ignorant as to call, or think himself the King's Tutor, as you (that understand not what that word, out of the University, signifies) do falsely charge him with ; or ever to say, that he was one of His Majesties domestique Servants. While upon this occasion he staid about *Paris*, and had neither encouragement nor desire to return into *England*, he wrote and published his *Leviathan*, far from the

intention either of disadvantage to His Majesty, or to flatter *Oliver*, (who was not made Protector till three or four years after) or purpose to make way for his return : For there is scarce a page in it that does not upbraid both him, and you, and others such as you, with your abominable hypocrisie and villainy.

Nor did he desert His Majesty, as you falsely accuse him, as His Majesty Himself knows. Nor was His Majesty (as you unmannerly term it) *in distress*. He had the Title, Right and Reverence of a King, and maintained His faithful Servants with Him. It is true, that Mr. *Hobbes* came home ; but it was because he would not trust his safety with the *French* Clergy.

Do you know that ever he fought any benefit either from *Oliver*,

Oliver, or from any of his Party, or was any way familiar with any of his Ministers, before or after his Return? or curried favour with any of them (as you did by Dedicated a Book to his Vice-Chancellor Owen?)

Did you ever hear that he took any thing done to him by His Majesty in evil part, or spake of him otherwise than the best of His Servants would do; or that he was sullen, silent, or sparing, in praising His Majesty in any company, upon any occasion?

He knew who were his enemies, and upon what ground they misconstrued his writings.

But your indiscretion appears more manifestly in giving him occasion to repeat what you have done, and to consider you, as you professedly have considered him: For

with what equity can it be denied him to repeat your manifest and horrible Crimes, for all you have been pardoned ; when you publish falsely pretended faults of his, and comprehended in the same pardon ?

If he should say, and publish, That you decyphered the Letters of the King and His Party, and thereby delivered his Majesties secrets to the Enemy , and His best Friends to the Scaffold, and boasted of it in your Book of Arithmetick (written in *Latin*) to all the World, as of a Monument of your Wit , worthy to be preserved in the University Library : How will you justifie your self, if you be reproached for having been a Rebel and a Traytor ? It may be you, or some for you, will now say, You decyphered those Letters to the King's advantage : But then you were

were unfaithful to your Masters of the Parliament : A very honest pretence, and full of gallantry, to excuse *Treason* with *Treachery*, and to be a double Spy. Besides, Who will believe it ? Who enabled you to do the King that favour ? Why hearded you with His Enemies ? Who brought the King into a need of such a fellows favour, but they that first deserted him, and then made War upon him, and which were your friends, and Mr. *Hobbes* his enemies. Nay more, I know not one enemy Mr. *Hobbes* then had, but such as were first the Kings enemies, and because the King's therefore his. Your being of that Party, (without your decyphering,) amounts to more than a desertion. Of the Bishops that then were, and for whose sakes (in part) you raised the War, there was not one that.

that followed the King out of the Land, though they loved him, but lived quietly under the Protection, first of the Parliament, and then of Oliver, (whose Titles and Actions were equally unjust) without treachery. Is not this as bad as if they had gone over, and (which was Mr. Hobbes his case) been driven back again? I hope you will not call them all desertors, (or because by their stay here openly they accepted of the Parliament's and of Oliver's Protection) defenders either of Oliver's, or of the Parliament's Title to the Sovereign Power.

How many were there in that Parliament at first that did indeed and voluntarily desert the King, in consenting to many of their unjust actions? Many of these afterwards, either upon better judgment, or because

because they pleased not the Fa-
tion, (for it was a hard matter for
such as were not of Pymms Cabal
to please the Parliament,) or for
some other private ends, deserted
the Parliament, and did some of
them more hurt to the King than if
they had staid where they were ;
(for they had been so affrighted by
such as you, with a panick fear of
Tyranny, that seeking to help Him
by way of Composition and sha-
ring, they abated the just and ne-
cessary indignation of His Armies,
by which only His Right was to be
recovered.)

That very entring into the Co-
venant with the Scottish Nation
against the King, is by it self a ve-
ry great Crime, and you guilty of
it. And so was the imposing of
the Engagement, and you guilty
of that also, as being done by the
then

then Parliament, whose Democratical Principles you approv'd of.

You were also assisting to the Resemblance of Divines that made the *Directory*, and which were afterwards put down by *Oliver* for counterfeiting themselves Ambassadors. And this was when the King was living, and in the head of an Army, which with your own endeavour might have protected you. What crime it is (the King being Head of the Church of *England*) to make *Directories*, to alter the *Church-Government*, and to set up new Forms of Gods Service, upon your own fancies, without the Kings Authority, the Lawyers could have told you; and what punishment you were to expect from it, you might have seen in the Statute printed before the Book of *Common Prayer*.

Further,

Further he may say, and truly,
That you were guilty of all the
Treasons, Murders, and Spoil com-
mitted by *Oliver*, or by any upon
Oliver's or the *Parliament's* Autho-
rity: For, during the late trouble,
who made both *Oliver* and the
People mad, but the Preachers of
your Principles ? But besides the
wickedness, see the folly of it. You
thought to make them mad, but
just to such a degree as should
serve your own turn ; that is to say,
mad, and yet just as wise as your
selves. Were you not very impru-
dent to think to govern madness ?
Paul they knew, but who were
you ? Who were they that put the
Army into *Oliver's* hands, (who be-
fore, as mad as he was, was too
weak, and too obscure to do any
great mischief) with which Army
he executed upon such as you, both
here

here and in *Scotland*, that which the Justice of God required.

Therefore, of all the Crimes (the Great Crime not excepted) done in that Rebellion, you were guilty ; You, I say, Dr. (how little force or wit soever you contributed) for your good will to their Cause. The King was hunted as a Partridge in the Mountains ; and though the Hounds have been hang'd, yet the Hunters were as guilty as they, and deserved no less punishment. And the Decyphers, and all that blew the horn, are to be reckoned amongst the Hunters. Perhaps you would not have had the prey killed, but rather have kept it tame. And yet who can tell ? I have read of few Kings deprived of their Power by their own Subjects, that have lived any long time after it, for reasons that every

every man is able to conjecture.

All this is so manifest as it needs no witnesses. In the mean time Mr. Hobbes his behaviour was such, that of them who appeared in that Scene, he was the only man I know (except a few that had the same Principles with him) that has not something more or less to blush for ; as having either assisted that rebellious Parliament, without necessity, (when they might have had Protection from the King, if they had resorted to him for it in the field,) by Covenanting, or by Action, or with Money, or Plate, or by Voting against His Majesties Interest, in Himself, or His Friends ; though some of them have since by extraordinary Service deserved to be received into favour : But what's that to you ? You are none of them ; and yet you dare to reproach the guiltless,

guiltless, as if after so ill fruits of your Sermons, it were not impudence enough to preach.

I admire further, That having been forgiven these so transcendent Crimes, (so great a debt to the Gallows) you take Mr. Hobbes by the throat for a word in his *Leviathan*, made a fault by malicious or over-hasty construction : For you have thereby, like the unmerciful debtor in the Gospel, (in my opinion) forfeited your pardon, and so, without a new one, may be hanged yet.

To that other Charge, *That he writ his Leviathan in defence of Oliver's Title*, he will say, That you in your own conscience know it is false. What was Oliver when that Book came forth? It was in 1650. and Mr. Hobbes returned before 1651. Oliver was then but General under

under your Masters of the Parliament, nor had yet cheated them of their usurped Power : For that was not done till two or three years after, in 1653. which neither he nor you could foresee : What Title then of *Oliver's* could he pretend to justifie ? But you will say, He placed the Right of Government there wheresoever should be the strength ; and so by consequence he placed it in *Oliver*. Is that all ? Then primarily his *Leviathan* was intended for your Masters of the Parliament, because the strength was then in them : Why did they not thank him for it, both they and *Oliver* in their turns ? There (Doctor) you decypher'd ill : For it was written in the behalf of those many and faithful Servants and Subjects of His Majesty, that had taken His part in the War, or otherwise done

their utmost endeavour to defend His Majesties Right and Person against the Rebels ; whereby, having no other means of Protection, nor (for the most part) of subsistence, were forced to compound with your Masters, and to promise Obedience for the saving of their Lives and Fortunes, which in his Book he hath affirmed they might lawfully do, and consequently not lawfully bear Arms against the Victors. They that had done their utmost endeavour to perform their obligation to the King, had done all that they could be obliged unto ; and were consequently at liberty to seek the safety of their Lives and Livelihood wheresoever, and without Treachery. But there is nothing in that Book to justifie the submission of you, (or such as you) to the Parliament, after the

King's

King's being driven from them, or to *Oliver*; for you were the King's Enemies, and cannot pretend want of that Protection which you your selves refused, denied, fought against, and destroyed. If a man owe you money, and you by robbing him, or other injury, disable him to pay you, the fault's your own; nor needs this exception, *Unless the Creditor rob him*, be put into the Condition of the Bond. Protection and Obedience are Relative. He that says a man may submit to an enemy for want of Protection, can never be construed, but that he meant it of the Obedient. But let us consider his words. They are in pag. 390. Where he puts for a Law of Nature, *That every man is bound as much as in him lieth, to protect in War the Authority by which he is himself protected*

in time of Peace; which I think is no ungodly nor unreasonable Principle. For confirmation of it, he defines in what point of time it is, that a Subject becomes obliged to obey an unjust Conquerour: And defines it thus; *It is that point wherein having liberty to submit to the Conquerour, he consenteth either by express words, or by other sufficient signs, to be his Subject.*

I cannot see, Doctor, how a man can be at liberty to submit to his new, that has not first done all he could for his old Master: Nor if he have done all he could, why that liberty should be refused him. If a man be taken by the *Turk*, and brought by teravour to fight against his former Master, I see how he may be kill'd for it as an Enemy, but not as a Criminal: Nor can I see how he that hath liberty to submit, can

at

at the same time be bound not to submit.

But you will say, perhaps, That he defines the time of that liberty to the advantage of Oliver, in that he says, that for an ordinary Subject, it is then, when the means of his Life are within the Guards and Garrisons of the Enemy; for it is then, that he bath no protection but from the Enemy, for his Contribution. It was not necessary for him to explain it to men of so great Understanding, that you and other his Enemies pretend to be, by putting in the Exception, Unless they came into those Guards and Garrisons by their own Treason. Do you think that Oliver's Party, for their submission to Oliver, could pretend the want of that Protection?

The words therefore by themselves, without that exception, do

C 3 signify

signifie no more than this, *That whosoever had done as much as in him did lye to protect the King in War, had liberty afterwards to provide themselves of such Protection as they could get*; which to those whose means of life were within the Guards and Garrisons of *Oliver*, was *Oliver's Protection*.

Do you think when a Battel is lost, and you at the mercy of the Enemy, is it unlawful to receive Quarter with condition of Obedience? Or if you receive it on that condition, do you think it honesty to break promise, and treacherously murder him that gave you your life? If that were good Doctrine, he were a foolish Enemy that would give Quarter to any man.

You see then, that this submissi-
on to *Oliver*, or to your then Ma-
sters, is allowed by Mr. Hobbes his
Doctrine

Doctrine only to the King's faithful Party, and not to any that fought against him, howsoever they coloured it, by saying they fought for the King and Parliament ; nor to any that writ or preached against His Cause, or encouraged His Adversaries ; nor to any that betrayed His Counsels, or that intercepted or decyphered any Letters of His, or of His Officers, or of any of His Party ; nor to any that by any way had contributed to the diminution of His Majesties Power, Ecclesiastical or Civil ; nor does it absolve any of them from their Allegiance. You that make it so heinous a crime for a man to save himself from violent death, by a forc'd submission to an Usurper, should have considered what crime it was to submit voluntarily to the Usurping Parliament.

I can tell you besides, why those words were put into his last Chapter, which he calls the Review. It happened at that time that there were many Honourable Persons, that having been faithful and unblemished Servants of the King, and Souldiers in His Army, had their Estates then Sequestred ; of whom some were fled, but the Fortunes of them all were at the mercy (not of *Oliver*, but) of the *Parliament*. Some of these were admitted to Composition, some not. They that Compounded, though they help'd the Parliament less by their Composition, than they should have done (if they had stood out) by their Confiscation, yet they were ill spoken of, especially by those that had no Estates to lose, nor hope to Compound. And it was for this that he added
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to what he had written before, this caution, That if they would compound, they were to do it *bona fide*, without intention of Treachery. Wherein he justified their Submission by their former Obedience, and present Necessity ; but condemned Treachery. Whereas you that pretend to abhor Atheism, condemn that which was done upon necessity, and justifie the Treachery : And you had reason for it, that cannot otherwise justifie your selves. Those struglings which happened afterwards, lost His Majesty many a good and able Subject, and strengthened *Oliver* with the Confiscation of their Estates, which if they had attended the Discord of their Enemies, might have been saved.

Perhaps you will take for a sign of Mr. Hobbes his ill meaning, that

His

His Majesty was displeased with him. And truly I believe He was displeased for a while, but not very long. They that complained of, and mis-construed his writings, were His Majesties good Subjects, and reputed Wise and Learned men, and thereby obtained to have their mis-construction believed for some little time: But the very next Summer after his coming away, two Honourable Persons of the Court that came over into *England*, assured him, that His Majesty had a good opinion of him; and others since have told me, that His Majesty said openly, That He thought Mr. *Hobbes* never meant him hurt. Besides, His Majesty hath used him more graciously than is ordinary to so humble a person as he is, and so great a Delinquent as you would make him, and testified His esteem
of

of him in His bounty. What Argument now can you draw from hence more than this, That His Majesty understood his writings better than his Accusers did.

I admire in the next place, upon what ground you accuse him (and with him all those that have approved his *Leviathan*) with Atheism. I thought once, that that slander had had some(though not firm) ground in that you call his new Divinity: But for that point he will allege these words of his *Leviathan*, pag. 238. By which it seemeth to me (with submission nevertheless both in this and all other Questions, whereof the determination dependeth on the Scriptures, to the Interpretation of the Bible authorized by the Commonwealth, whose Subject I am,) That, &c. What is there in these words but Modesty and Obedience? But you

you were at this time in actual Rebellion. Mr. *Hobbes*, that holds Religion to be a Law, did in order thereto condemn the maintenance of any of his Opinions against the Law; and you that reproach him for them upon your own account, should also have shewn by your own Learning, wherein the Scripture, which was his sole proof, was mis-cited, or mis-construed by him; (for he submitted to the Laws, that is to say, to the King's Doctrine, not to yours;) and not have insulted for the Victory won by the power of the Law, to which you were then an enemy.

Another Argument of Atheism you take from his denying *immaterial*, or *incorporeal Substances*. Let any man impartially now compare his Religion with yours, by this very measure, and judge which of

of the two favours most of Atheism.

It is by all Christians confess'd, that God is *incomprehensible*; that is to say, that there is nothing can arise in our Fancy from the naming of him, to resemble him either in *shape, colour, stature, or nature*; there is no Idea of him; he is like nothing that we can think on: What then ought we to say of him? What Attributes are to be given him, not speaking otherwise than we think, nor otherwise than is fit, by those who mean to honour him? None but such as Mr. Hobbes hath set down, namely, Expressions of Reverence, such as are in Use amongst men for signs of Honour, and consequently signify *Goodness, Greatness, and Happiness*; and either absolutely put, as *Good, Holy, Mighty, Blessed, Just, Wise, Merciful,*

ful, &c. or *Superlative*, as *most Good*, *most Great*, *most Mighty*, *Almighty*, *most Holy*, &c. or *Negative*, of whatsoever is not perfect, as *Infinite*, *Eternal*, and the like: And not such as neither Reason nor Scripture hath approved for honourable. This is the Doctrine that Mr. Hobbes hath written, both in his *Leviathan*, and in his Book *de Cive*, and when occasion serves, maintains. What kind of Attribute I pray you is *immaterial*, or *incorporeal substance*? Where do you find it in the Scripture? Whence came it hither, but from *Plato* and *Aristotle*, Heathens, who mistook those thin Inhabitants of the Brain they see in sleep, for so many *incorporeal men*; and yet allow them motion, which is proper only to things *corporeal*? Do you think it an honour to God to be one of these?

And

And would you learn Christianity from *Plato* and *Aristotle*? But seeing there is no such word in the Scripture, how will you warrant it from natural reason? Neither *Plato* nor *Aristotle* did ever write cf, or mention an *incorporeal Spirit*; for they could not conceive how a Spirit, which in their Language was *πνεῦμα* (in ours *a Wind*) could be *incorporeal*. Do you understand the connection of *substance* and *incorporeal*? If you do, explain it in English; for the words are Latin. It is something, you'll say, that being *without Body*, stands under----. Stands under what? Will you say, *under Accidents*? Almost all the Fathers of the Church will be against you; and then you are an Atheist. Is not Mr. *Hobbes* his way of Attributing to God, that only which the Scriptures Attri-

bute

bute to him, or what is never anywhere taken but for honour, much better than this bold Undertaking of yours, to consider and decypher Gods *nature* to us ?

For a third Argument of Atheism, you put, That he says, *Besides the Creation of the World, there is no Argument to prove a Deity*; and, *That it cannot be evinced by any Argument that the World had a Beginning*; and, *That whether it had or no, is to be decided not by Argument, but by the Magistrates Authority*. That it may be decided by the Scriptures, he never denied: Therefore in that also you slander him. And as for Arguments from natural Reason, neither you, nor any other have hitherto brought any (except the Creation) that has not made it more doubtful to many men than it was before. That which

which he hath written concerning such Arguments, is in his Book *De Corpore*. *Opinions* (saith he) concerning the nature of Infinite and Eternal, as the chiefest of the fruits of *Wisdom*, God hath reserved to himself, and make Judges of them, those men whose Ministry he meant to use in the ordering of Religion; and therefore I cannot praise those men that brag of Demonstration of the Beginning of the World from natural Reason. And again, pag. 238. Wherefore I pass by those Questions of Infinite and Eternal, contenting my self with such Doctrine concerning the Beginning and Magnitude of the World, as I have learn'd from the Scripture, confirmed by Miracles, and from the Use of my Countrey, and from the Reverence I owe to the Law. This, Doctor, is not ill said, and yet 'tis all you ground your slander on,

D which

which you make to sneak vilely under a crooked Paraphrase.

These Opinions, I said, were to be judged by those to whom God has committed the ordering of Religion ; that is, to the Supreme Governours of the Church, that is, in *England*, to the King : By His Authority, I say, it ought to be decided, (not what men shall think, but) what they shall say in those Questions. And me thinks you should not dare to deny it ; for it is a manifest relapse into your former Crimes.

But why do you stile the King by the name of *Magistrate*? Do you find *Magistrate* to signify any where the Person that hath the Sovereign Power, or not every where the Sovereign's Officers. And I think you knew that ; but you and your fellows(your fellows I call all those that

that are so besmeared all over with the filth of the same Crime, as not to be distinguished,) meant to make your Assembly the Sovereign, and the King your *Magistrate*. I pray God you do not mean so still, if opportunity be presented.

There has hitherto appeared in Mr. Hobbes his Doctrine no sign of Atheism ; and whatsoever can be inferr'd from the denying of *Incorporeal Substances*, makes Tertullian, one of the ancientest of the Fathers, and most of the Doctors of the Greek Church, as much Atheists as he: For Tertullian in his Treatise *De Carne Christi*, says plainly, *Omne quod est, corpus est sui generis. Nihil est incorporeum, nisi quod non est.* That is to say, *Whatsoever is anything, is a body of its kind. Nothing is Incorporeal, but that which has no Being.* There are many o-

ther places in him to the same purpose: For that Doctrine served his turn to confute the Heresie of them that held that Christ had no Body, but was a *Ghost*: Also of the Soul he speaks, as of an invisible Body. And there is an Epitome of the Doctrine of the Eastern Church, wherein is this, That they thought Angels and Souls were *Corporeal*, and only called *Incorporeal*, because their Bodies were not like ours. And I have heard that a Patriarch of *Constantinople*, in a Council held there, did argue for the lawfulness of painting Angels, from this, that they were *Corporeal*. You see what Fellows in Atheism you joyn with Mr. Hobbes.

How unfeigned your own Religion is, may be argued strongly, demonstratively, from your behaviour that I have already recited.

Do

Do you think, you that have committed so abominable sins, not through infirmity, or sudden transport of Passion, but premeditately, wilfully, for twenty years together, that any rational man can think you believe your selves, when you preach of Heaven and Hell, or that you do not believe one another to be Cheaters and Impostors, and to laugh at silly People in your sleeves for believing you ; or that you applaud not your own wit for it ; though for my part I could never conceive that very much wit was requisite for the making of a knave. And in the Pulpit most of you have been a scandal to Christianity, by preaching up Sedition, and crying down Moral Virtue. You should have preach'd against unjust Ambition, Covetousness, Gluttony, Malice, Disobedience to Government,

Fraud, and Hypocrisie : But for the most part you preach'd your own Controversies, about who should be uppermost, or other fruitless and unedifying Doctrines. When did any of you preach against *Hypocrisie*? You dare not in the Pulpit (I think) so much as name it, lest you set the Church a laughing : And you in particular, when you said in a Sermon, That *Sophos* was not in *Homer*; what edification could the People have from that, though it had been true, as 'tis false? (For it is in his *Iliade*, lib. 15. v. 363.) Another I heard make half his Sermon of this Doctrine, That God never sent a great Deliverance, but in a great Danger: Which is indeed true, because the greatness of the Danger makes the greatness of the Deliverance, but for the same cause ridiculous; and the

the other half he took to construe
the Greek of his Text: And yet
such Sermons are much applauded.
But why? First, Because they make
not the People ashamed of any
Vice. Secondly, Because they like
the Preacher, for using to find fault
with the Government or Governors.
Thirdly, For their vehemence,
which they mistake for Zeal.
Fourthly, For their zeal to their
own ends, which they mistake for
zeal to Gods Worship. I have
heard besides divers Sermons made
by Phanatiques, young men, and
whom by that, and their habit, I
imagined to be Apprentices; and
found little difference between
their Sermons, and the Sermons of
such as you, either in respect of
Wisdom, or Eloquence, or Vehemence,
or Applause of Common
People.

Therefore I wonder how you can pretend (as you do in your Petition, for a Dispensation from the Ceremonies of the Church) to be either better Preachers than those that Conform, or to have tenderer Consciences than other men. You that have covered such black Designs with the Sacred words of Scripture, why can you not as well find in your hearts to cover a black Gown with a white Surplice? Or what Idolatry do you find in making the Sign of the Cross, when the Law commands it? Though I think you may conform without sin, yet I think you might have been also dispensed with without sin, if you had dispensed in like manner with other Ministers that subscribed to the Articles of the Church. And if tenderness of Conscience be a good Plea, you must

must give Mr. Hobbes also leave to plead tenderness of Conscience to his new Divinity, as well as you. I should wonder also how any of you should dare to speak to a multitude met together, without being limited by His Majesty what they shall say, especially now that we have felt the smart of it, but that it is a Relique of the Ecclesiastical Policy of the Popes, that found it necessary for the dis-joyning of the People from their too close adherence to their Kings, or other Civil Gouvernours.

But it may be you will say, That the rest of the Clergy, Bishops, and Episcopable men, no Friends of yours, and against whose Office Mr. Hobbes never writ any thing, speak no better of his Religion than you do.

Tis true, he never wrote against
Epi-

Episcopacy ; and it is his private opinion, That such an Episcopacy as is now in *England*, is the most commodious that a Christian King can use for the governing of Christ's Flock, the misgoverning whereof the King is to answer for to Christ, as the Bishops are to answer for their mis-government to the King, and to God also. Nor ever spake he ill of any of them, as to their Persons : Therefore I should wonder the more at the uncharitable censure of some of them, but that I see a Relique still remaining of the venom of Popish Ambition, lurking in that seditious *distinction* and *division* between the Power *Spiritual* and *Civil*, which they that are in love with a Power to hurt all those that stand in competition with them for Learning (as the *Roman* Clergy had to hurt Galileo)

Galileo) do not willingly forsake. All Bishops are not in every point like one another. Some it may be are content to hold their Authority from the King's Letters Patents; and these have no cause to be angry with Mr. Hobbes. Others will needs have somewhat more, they know not what, of Divine Right, to Govern by virtue of *Imposition of Hands*, and *Consecration*, not acknowledging their Power from the King, but immediately from Christ. And these perhaps are they that are displeased with him, which he cannot help, nor has deserved ; but will for all that believe the King only, and without sharers, to be the Head of all the Churches within His own Dominions ; and that he may dispence with Ceremonies, or with any thing else that is not against the Scriptures, nor against natural

natural Equity ; and that the consent of the Lords and Commons cannot now give Him that Power, but declare for the People their advice and consent to it. Nor can he be made believe that the safety of a State depends upon the safety of the Church, I mean, of the Clergy : For neither is a Clergy essential to a Common-wealth ; and those Ministers that preached Sedition pretend to be of the Clergy, as well as the best. He believes rather that the Safety of the Church depends on the Safety of the King, and the entirene's of the Sovereign Power; and that the King is no part of the Flock of any Minister or Bishop, no more than the Shepherd is of his Sheep; but of Christ only ; and all the Clergy, as well as the People, the King's Flock. Nor can that clamour of his

his adversaries make Mr. Hobbes think himself a worse Christian than the best of them. And how will you disprove it, either by his disobedience to the Laws *Civil*, or *Ecclesiastical*, or by any ugly action? Or how will you prove that the obedience which springs from scorn of Injustice, is less acceptable to God, than that which proceeds from fear of punishment, or hope of benefit. Gravity and heaviness of Countenance are not so good marks of assurance of Gods favour, as cheerful, charitable, and upright behaviour towards men, which are better signs of Religion than the zealous maintaining of controverted Doctrines. And therefore I am verily perswaded; it was not his Divinity that displeased you or them, but somewhat else, which you are not willing

ling to pretend. As for your Party, that which angered you, I believe, was this passage of his *Leviathan*, pag. 89. Whereas some men have pretended for their Disobedience to their Sovereign, a new Covenant made, not with men, but with God; this also is unjust: For there is no Covenant with God, but by mediation of some body that representeth Gods Person; which none doth but Gods Lieutenant, who hath the Sovereignty under God: But this pretence of Covenant with God, is so evident a lye (this is it that angered you) even in the pretenders own Consciences, that it is not only an act of an unjust, but also of a vile and unmanly disposition.

Besides his making the King Judge of Doctrines to be preach'd or published, hath offended you both; so has also his Attributing to

to the Civil Sovereign all Power *Sacerdotal*. But this perhaps may seem hard, when the Sovereignty is in a Queen : But it is because you are not subtle enough to perceive, that though *Man* be *male* and *female*, *Authority* is not. To please neither Party is easie ; but to please both, unless you could better agree amongst your selves than you do, is impossible. Your differences have troubled the Kingdom, as if you were the Houses revived of *York* and *Lancaster*. A man would wonder how a little *Latin* and *Greek* should work so mightily, when the Scriptures are in *English*, as that the King and Parliament can hardly keep you quiet, especially in time of danger from abroad. If you will needs quarrel, decide it amongst your selves, and draw not the People into your Parties.

You

You were angry also for his blaming the Scholastical Philosophers, and denying such fine things as these, *That the Species or Apparances of Bodies come from the thing we look on, into the Eye, and so make us see; and into the Understanding, to make us understand; and into the Memory to make us remember.* . . *That a Body may be just the same it was, and yet bigger or lesser.* *That Eternity is a permanent Now;* and the like. And for detecting, further than you thought fit, the fraud of the Roman Clergy. Your dislike of his Divinity was the least cause of your calling him Atheist. But no more of this now.

The next Head of your Contumelies is to make him contemptible, and to move Mr. Boyle to pity him. This is a way of railing too much beaten to be thought *Witty.*

As

As for the thing it self, I doubt your Intelligence is not good, and that you Algebricians , and Non-conformists, do but fain it, to comfort one another. For your own part, you contemn him not , or else you did very foolishly to entitle the beginning of your Book, *Mr. Hobbes considered* ; which argues he is considerable enough to you. Besides, 'tis no Argument of Contempt , to spend upon him so many angry lines as would have furnisht you with a dozen of Sermons: If you had in good earnest despised him, you would have let him alone , as he does Dr. *Ward*, Mr. *Baxter*, *Pike*, and others , that have reviled him as you do. As for his Reputation beyond the Seas, it fades not yet : And because perhaps you have no means to know it, I will cite you a passage of an Epistle, written by a

E learned

learned French-man to an eminent Person in *France*, a passage not impertinent to the point now in question. It is in a Volume of Epistles, the fourth in order, and the words, page 167. concerning Chymists, are these : *Truly, Sir, as much as I admire them, when I see them lute an Alembick handsomely, philter a Liquor, build an Athanor, so much I mislike them when I hear them discourse upon the Subject of their Operations ; and yet they think all they do, is nothing in respect of what they say : I wish they would take less pains, and be at less charges ; and whilst they wash their hands after their work, they would leave to those that attend to the polishing of their discourse, I mean, the Galileo's, the Descarteses, the Hobbeses, the Bacons, and the Gassendi's, to reason upon their work, and themselves to bear*

bear what the Learned and Judicious shall tell them, such as are used to discern the differences of things. *Quam scit uterque libens censebo exerceat artem.* And more to the same purpose.

What is here said of Chymists, is applicable to all other Mechaniques.

Every man that hath spare money, can get Furnaces, and buy Coals. Every man that hath spare money, can be at the charge of making great Moulds, and hiring Workmen to grind their Glasses; and so may have the best and greatest Telescopes: They can get Engines made, and apply them to the Stars; Recipients made, and try Conclusions; but they are never the more Philosophers for all this. 'Tis laudable, I confess, to bestow money upon curious or useful de-

lights ; but that is none of the praises of a Philosopher. And yet, because the multitude cannot judge , they will pass with the unskilful, for skilful in all parts of natural Philosophy. And I hear now that *Hugenius* and *Eustachio Divini* are to be tried by their Glasses, who is the more skilful in *Optiques* of the two ; but for my part , before Mr. *Hobbes* his Book *De Homine* came forth, I never saw any thing written of that subject intelligibly. Do not you tell me now, according to your wonted ingenuity, that I never saw *Euclid's*, *Vitellio's*, and many other mens *Optiques* ; as if I could not distinguish between *Geometry* and *Optiques*.

So also of all other Arts ; not every one that brings from beyond Seas a new Gin, or other janty device , is therefore a Philosopher :

For

For if you reckon that way, not onely Apothecaries and Gardeners, but many other sorts of Workmen, will put in for, and get the Prize. Then , when I see the Gentlemen of *Gresham*-Colledge apply themselves to the Doctrine of Motion, (as Mr. *Hobbes* has done, and will be ready to help them in it, if they please, and so long as they use him civilly,) I will look to know some Causes of natural Events from them, and their Register, and not before : For Nature does nothing but by Motion.

I hear that the reason given by Mr. *Hobbes*, why the drop of Glass so much wondred at, shivers into so many pieces, by breaking onely one small part of it , is approved for probable , and registered in their Colledge: But he has no reason to take it for a favour, because

hereafter the Invention may be taken by that means not for his , but theirs.

To the rest of your Calumnies the Answers will be short, and such as you might easily have foreseen. And first , for his boasting of his Learning , it is well summ'd up by you in these words : *'Twas a motion made by one (whom I will not name) that some idle person should read over all his Books, and collecting together his arrogant and supercilious Speeches, applauding himself, and despising all other men , set them forth in one Synopsis, with this Title, Hobbius de se. What a pretty piece of Pageantry this would make, I shall leave to your own thoughts.*

Thus say you : Now says Mr. Hobbes, or I for him, Let your idle Person do it, and set down no more than he has written, (as high praises

as they be) I'll promise you he shall acknowledge them under his hand, and be commended for it, and you scorned. A certain Roman Senator, having propounded something in the Assembly of the People, which they misliking made a noise at, boldly bad them hold their peace, and told them he knew better what was good for the Common-wealth than all they: And his words are transmitted to us as an Argument of his Virtue; so much do Truth and Vanity alter the complection of self-praise. Besides, you can have very little skill in Morality, that cannot see the Justice of commanding a mans self, as well as of any thing else, in his own defence: And it was want of prudence in you, to constrain him to a thing that would so much displease you. That part of his self-

praise which most offends you, is in the end of his *Leviathan*, in these words: *Therefore I think it may be profitably printed, and more profitably taught in the Universities, in case they also think so, to whom the judgment of the same belongeth.* Let any man consider the truth of it. Where did those Ministers learn their seditious Doctrine, and to preach it, but there? Where therefore should Preachers learn to teach Loyalty, but there? And if your Principles produced Civil War, must not the contrary Principles, which are his, produce Peace? And consequently his Book, as far as it handles Civil Doctrine, deserves to be taught there: But when can this be done? When you shall have no longer an Army ready to maintain the evil Doctrine wherewith you have infected the people.

people. By a ready Army I mean Arms, and Money, and men enough, though not yet in pay, and put under Officers, yet gathered together in one place or City, to be put under Officers, armed, and payed on any sudden occasion ; such as are the people of a great and populous Town. Every great City is as a standing Army , which if it be not under the Soveraigns command, the people are miserable; if they be, they may be taught their duties in the Universities safely and easily, and be happy. I never read of any Christian King that was a Tyrant, though the best of Kings have been call'd so.

Then for the *Morosity* and *Peevishness* you charge him with , all that know him familiarly, know 'tis a false accusation. But you mean, it may be, onely towards those that argue against his Opinion : But neither

neither is that true. When vain and ignorant young Scholars , unknown to him before, come to him on purpose to argue with him, and to extort applause for their foolish Opinions, and missing of their end, fall into undiscreet and uncivil expressions , and he then appear not very well contented,'tis not his *Morosity*,but their *Vanity* that should be blamed. But what humor (if not *Morosity* and *Peevishness*) was that of yours, whom he never had injured, or seen, or heard of, to use toward him such insolent , injurious, and clownish words, as you did in your absurd *Elenchus*?

Was it not impatience of seeing any dissent from you in opinion ? Mr. *Hobbes* has been always far from provoking any man , though when he is provok'd, you finde his Pen as sharp as yours.

Again,

Again, when you make his Age a reproach to him , and shew no cause that might impair the faculties of his minde but onely Age, I admire how you saw not that you reproached all old men in the world as much as him, and warranted all young men, at a certain time, which they themselves shall define, to call you *fool*. Your dislike of old age, you have also otherwise sufficiently signified , in venturing so fairly as you have done to escape it. But that is no great matter to one that hath so many marks upon him of much greater reproaches. By Mr. Hobbes his Calculation, that derives Prudence from Experience , and Experience from Age , you are a very young man ; but by your own reckoning , you are older already than Methuselah.

Lastly, Who told you that he
writ

writ against Mr. *Boyle*, whom in his writing he never mentioned? And that it was because Mr. *Boyle* was acquainted with you? I know the contrary. I have heard him wish it had been some person of lower condition that had been the Author of the Doctrine which he opposed, and therefore opposed because it was false, and because his own could not otherwise be defended. But thus much I think is true, that he thought never the better of his Judgment, for mistaking you for Learned. This is all I thought fit to answer for him and his manners. The rest is of his Geometry and Philosophy, concerning which, I say only this, That there is too much in your Book to be confuted: Almost every line may be disproved, or ought to be reprehended. In sum, it is all Errour and Railing, that is,

stinking

stinking wind, such as a Jade lets flie
when he is too hard girt upon a
full belly. I have done. I have
considered you now , but will not
again, whatsoever preferment any
of your friends shall procure you.

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